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THE
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXIII.

OCTOBER, 1915.

No. 4

THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER IN HISTORY—1778.

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

III. ITS ENEMIES AND DEFENDERS

In the preceding sections the more important events of the year 1778, on the western frontiers, have been briefly reviewed.

The continued attacks by Indians and Tories on the border settlements, and the apparent helplessness of the settlers to protect themselves and repel the invaders led Congress, in conjunction with the governments of Virginia and Pennsylvania, to plan and undertake an active campaign against the enemies beyond the Ohio; but the campaign was destined to meet with little success.

Gen. Lachlan McIntosh was placed in command of the Western Department, with headquarters at Fort Pitt, on May 2, 1778, to succeed Gen. Edward Hand who had commanded the post since June 1 of the previous year. Gen. Washington soon ordered two regiments, the Thirteenth Virginia and Eighth Pennsylvania, then attached to the main army, to re-

turn to Fort Pitt and garrison that important post. These regiments of regulars, together with the companies of militia raised in the different counties, would have constituted an ample force with which to traverse the Indian country, and endeavor to reach the British post at Detroit. But the lack of supplies caused the expedition to be delayed until autumn and McIntosh was unable to move beyond the Delaware towns near the Muskingum, in the present Tuscarawas county, Ohio, before the lateness of the season made it necessary to seek winter quarters.

In this connection it is of interest to consider the numbers and distribution of the defenders of the frontiers, and the enemies against whom they were to operate.

Late in July General Hand prepared a brief report giving the number of troops at that time stationed on the frontier. It is on one side of a single sheet, and the writing remains clear and distinct. The manuscript is preserved in the Library of Congress (No. 147, Vol. II, Papers of the Continental Congress, folio 185), and is given below:

Forces at fort Pitt & y ^e western frontiers by the last returns from Gen'l Hand, dated July 25-'78	
Garrison at fort Pitt (exclusive of those 49 men with Capt ^s Willing & O'Hara down y ^e Missisipi)	226
Militia at different posts, viz	
Yohiogany County.....	155
Monongahalia County.....	233
Ohio County.....	101
Westmoreland County (1).....	210
	699
Garrison of fort Randolph.....	84
	1009

1-Of the four counties mentioned, the first three belonged to Virginia, having been formed in 1776 from Augusta. The fourth, Westmoreland, constituted the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, being the eleventh and last county formed under the proprietary government, February 26, 1773.

Capt. Moorhead's company at fort Hand on	32
White Pine run, 25 miles from fort Pitt (2)	
Residue of y ^e 13 th Virg'a. reg ^t about (3).....	100
Brodhead's reg ^t (4).....	250

 1391

Preserved in the same volume of manuscripts (No. 147, Vol. II, Papers of the Continental Congress), are three documents of the greatest interest. One is a report from the War Office, dated August 14, 1778, which was accompanied by two papers, (1st) a list of the forces on the western frontiers, and (2d) a census of the Indian tribes beyond the Ohio. The three documents will be considered in the order named.

"War Office August 14, 1778

Present { Mr Duer
Mr Peters
Mr Pickering

2-This was Samuel Moorhead. "It appears that no soldiers were at once available to occupy Kittanning and guard the stores left there by Colonel Mackay. In this emergency Samuel Moorhead, who lived at Black Lick creek, north of the Kiskiminetas, began the formation of a company of volunteer rangers for frontier protection." (Hassler, E. W. *Old Westmoreland*, Pittsburg, 1900, p. 26.) This was after Colonel Mackay's regiment, the Eighth Pennsylvania, had been ordered from the western frontier to join Washington. Fort Hand stood about three and one-half miles southwest of the present village of Apollo, Westmoreland county.

3-"The Thirteenth Virginia had been raised by Colonel William Crawford in the territory now included in the counties of Fayette, Washington and Greene [Pennsylvania]. Its formation in 1777, had been somewhat slow, and before it was completed about 200 of the men were ordered to the East. The remainder of the command, about 100 men, when enlisted, was detained at Fort Pitt, and was still there, under Colonel William Russell, when the eastern detachment, with Washington's army, was ordered to return to the West." (Hassler, *op. cit.* p. 66.) Some of this command remained loyal to the British, and assisted McKee and his followers to escape from Pittsburg, March 28, 1778.

4-The Eighth Pennsylvania was raised in western Pennsylvania, Colonel Aeneas Mackay of Pittsburg being its first commander. The regiment was at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778, returning west during the following summer. In the meantime Mackay died and Daniel Brodhead was appointed colonel.

Col. George Morgan (5) purchasing commissary for the western department, having represented to this board the necessity of preparing immediately for the laying up such magazines of provisions as shall be sufficient for the troops maintained for the defence of that frontier; the board desired information of the number of men necessary to be kept up there on the present plan—the posts at which they are stationed—and their use.

He accordingly presented such a state to the board—from which it appears that thirteen hundred men would be requisite for the above purpose. That to supply them with provisions ten months, or 304 days (viz from the first of Nov^r 1778, to y^e 31st of August 1779.) it will require 617,500 lb of flour,—a like quantity of fresh beef, or 494,000 lb of pork, including one quarter for accidents & waste:—That the cost of these provisions & the charges attending their purchase and transportation, will amount to 200,000 dollars—to which he has added 4000 for 1500 gallons of whiskey.

Colo. Morgan also, at the request of y^e board, procured from M^r William Willson(6) (whom he represented as well acquainted with them) an account of the present state of the western Indians; from which it appears, That the whole number who are hostile, do not exceed 330 fighting men. That these are settled from about 150 to 300 miles distant from fort Pitt. That within the same distances there are about double that number of Indians at present friendly.

5—"In the spring of 1776 Congress took direct control of the Indian agencies, and for the important post at Pittsburg chose George Morgan, a man of education, high family connections and considerable wealth. Morgan's home was at Princeton, N. J., his mercantile interests were in Philadelphia, and as agent of his own trading house he had traveled extensively in the Indian country, from the Allegheny to the Illinois. He arrived at Pittsburg about the first of May, 1776, and at once began to arrange for a more satisfactory treaty with the tribes. He sent agents, with pacific messages, into the Indian country, employing in this service William Wilson, Peter Long, Simon Girty and Joseph Nicholson." (Hassler, *op. cit.* pp. 19-20.)

6-Wilson, as an Indian trader, had become well acquainted with the tribes between the Ohio and the British post at Detroit. In 1776 he penetrated the Indian country, carrying a message to the Wyandot settlement on the eastern side of Detroit river. He was soon betrayed to the British commander, Colonel Hamilton, but being recognized as an ambassador he was given safe conduct to return to Fort Pitt.

Col. Morgan is of opinion, That on account of these hostile Indians, & the northern tribes (the Senecas especially) it will be necessary to keep up the number of men before stated, except 150 of them proposed as the garrison of fort Randolph, which being two hundred miles distant from the settlement of the inhabitants of Virginia, he thinks is, on the defensive plan, of little or no use; and even if offensive measures were meditated that tis of small consequence, its distance from the most hostile Indians being as great as that of fort Pitt.

From this view of facts (which are particularly stated in the papers accompanying this report) the Board submit to Congress whether it is not expedient—

That Col. George Morgan, commissary of purchases for the western department, be furnished with thousand dollars to enable him to form magazines of provisions for the use of that department the year ensuing.

The board beg leave to add, That if it should be unnecessary to maintain such a number of troops on the frontiers, the provisions will be ready for any service down the Mississippi; But that unless measures are taken for forming the magazines immediately, it will be difficult, if not impossible to form them at all.

By order of the board
Tim. Pickering.

On the last page of the foregoing document appears the following brief statement:

“War Office Sep^t 17, 1778.

“The Board have further considered the subject of the foregoing report, & consulted Gen^l Hand who has lately returned from fort Pitt; and are of opinion that the whole sum asked for by Col. Morgan, viz. two hundred & four thousand dollars, will be necessary to enable him to lay in the provisions requisite for the troops kept up on the western frontiers & which must be maintained to prevent the inhabitants abandoning their extensive settlements. This

sum is the more certainly necessary as flour has been raised to an enormous price since the estimate was made.

By order of y^e board

Tim. Pickering."

The first of the two papers mentioned as accompanying the preceding report, was a list of the frontier posts as they were during the summer of 1778, and an estimate of the supplies necessary to maintain the garrisons. It was prepared by Col. George Morgan, and is given below:

"Forces maintained in the Western Department in con-
Pay-Viz^t

At Fort Randolph(7)—An Out Post to defend the Fron-
tiers of Virginia & from whence the Indians may be
annoy'd if a Garrison of 500 Men were to be kept up. Men
This Post is 200 Miles distant from the Settlements 150

At Fort Henry(8) & other Posts in Ohio County.....150
These Posts form, or are intended to form, a Barrier
against the Indians for the West Side of that & Yough-
iogane County.

At Fort Pitt—the most important Post in the Western
Country.....200

At the several Posts in Westmoreland County in Penn-
sylvania.....200

This is a frontier County & much exposed to the Sene-
cas & other Indians from the Northward who may
descend the Allegany to within 25 Miles of the County
Town(9). For these Reasons the Militia of the
County are kept in Pay—They garrison 10 or 12 small
Posts in the County to protect the Inhabitants.

7—Fort Randolph, on the left bank of the Ohio, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, was the scene of the treacherous murder of Cornstalk, November 10, 1777. The fort had been erected soon after the battle of Point Pleasant during "Lord Dunmore's War."

8—Fort Henry stood on the left bank of the Ohio, within the limits of the present city of Wheeling, West Virginia.

9—Hannah's-Town, or as it was later designated Hannastown, was the seat of government of Westmoreland county. It stood between three and four miles northeast of the present Greensburg. The town was destroyed July 13, 1782, by a party of Canadians and Iroquois warriors.

At the several Posts in Youghiogane County.....100

These Posts are intended to cover the County on the
North West Side bordering on the Ohio 70 Miles.

At the Posts in Monongahela County whose Inhabitants
are much exposed.....200

At Sandusky, General M^eIntosh may find it expedient to
erect & establish a new Post this Fall, to awe the Indians
& facilitate the Reduction of Detroit next Year.....200

The Artificers, Pack Horsemen, Drivers &c.....100

Total.....1300

Estimate of Provisions necessary for 1300 Men from Nov^r
1st 1778 to August 31st 1779, is 10 months or 304 days=
395,200 Rations

Equal 494,000 Flour & 494,000 Beef or 395,200 Pork

Accidents & 123,500.....123,500.....98,800"

Waste $\frac{1}{4}$

617,500

617,500

494,000

Cost & Expences Viz^t

6175 W^t of Flour.....at 5 dollars p. c. 30,875

7000 Kegs for d'o..... $\frac{3}{4}$ " 4,666

4940 W^t of Pork16 dollars 79,040

2470 Casks.....3 " 7,410

Pay of Commissaries, Drivers, Butchers &c 9,120

Occasional Carriages & other Expenses
which may be more or less-tis impossible
to ascertain them as they depend on Acci-
dents.....18,889

150,000

Provisions laid in at Skipton(10), Fort Cum-

10-"Skipton, a village on the north side of Patowmac river, about 11 miles southeast of Fort Cumberland, and 28 southerly of Beford in Pennsylvania." (Morse, Jedidiah, The American Gazetteer, Boston, 1797.) Fort Cumberland stood at the west side of the mouth of Will's creek, on the left bank of the Potomac; the site of the present town of Cumberland, Allegany county, Maryland. Berkeley was probably the village of Bath, better known as Berkeley Springs, then in Berkeley County; but now the county seat of Morgan Co., W. Va. Frederick was probably the Maryland town of the name. Conacocheague Valley now in Franklin County, Pa. was the seat of a trading settlement. The creek flows into the Potomac at Williamsport, Md.

berland, Berkley, Frederick & Connecoch- eague & others to be laid in for the Militia, Pack Horse Men, Waggoners &c between those Places & Fort Pitt.....	50,000
1500 Gallons Wiskey for extra Occasions, 2¾ Doll ^s	4,000
Total Dollars.....	204,000

Philadelphia July 31st 1778

Geo: Morgan.

The two documents presented on the preceding pages enable us to picture the frontier posts as they were during the summer of 1778. Small groups of militia, at widely separated spots in the vast primeval forests. Nearby were the clearings and log cabins of the settlers. Supplies were scarce, and consequently difficult to obtain and of high price: a condition which resulted in more than one expedition being either postponed or abandoned. Scouts were ever on the alert for the approach of warriors from beyond the Ohio; the accepted boundary between the white settlements and the Indian Country, later to become the Territory Northwest of the Ohio.

During the same year a census of the tribes occupying the Indian Country, was prepared by William Wilson and at the request of the War Office it was secured by Col. George Morgan for the use of that board.

The document, in full, is given below:

An Acc't of the Indian Towns & Nations in the Western Department—Their Numbers & present Disposition.

Indian Towns	Miles distant from Fort Pitt	Hostile Friendly or Neutral	Fighting Men	Total Hostile	Total Neutral	Total Friendly
I Delawares—Viz.: Several on Beaver Creek now removed to Coochocking Guyahaga do. Several on Muskingham & Hockhocking now removed to Coochocking. Coochocking Ouabache	45 to 70 120 110 to 180 140 1100	Friendly ditto ditto ditto ditto	400 100			400 100
II Munsies & Mohickons Viz.: Removed to the Seneca Country Joined with the Delawares Dispersed in Western Tribes		Hostile Friendly Hostile	30 20 40	30 40		20
III Christianized Indians, Viz.: Delawares & Munseys, Walehaketopae & Kenheaderhead removed to Lictenau	143	Friendly	100			100
IV Shawnese, Viz.: Removed at Colo. Morgan's Desire to Coochocking Several Towns on Scioto removed to Miami	140 280	Friendly Neutral	50 250		250	50

Indian Towns	Miles distant from Fort Pitt	Hostile Friendly or Neutral	Fighting Men	Total Hostile	Total Neuter	Total Friendly
V Wiandots, Viz.: Several little Villages on Sandusky if not removed to Detroit On Detroit River both sides	180 300	Hostile Hostile	80 120	80 120		
VI Ottawas & Pottawatamies Several Villages on Miamia & on Lake Erie At Detroit & Lake Huron	250 300 4 & 500	Neutral straglers excepted ditto Neuter	250 30 Unknown, said to be		250 30 300	
VII Chipwas, Viz.: Lake Huron, Lake Michiagn & North Side of Lake Erie	300 & 600	Neutral	Unknown, said to be		5000	
VIII Twixtwees & Picts on Miamia River	400	Neutral	800		800	
IX Oubache Indians, Viz.: Kickapoos, Muscootons, Wiotonaus & Piankashas	600	Neutral	1500		1500	
X Mingoes of Scioto including the Refugee Shawnese, Delawares—intermarried, Heads of Scioto & Detroit	200 & 300	Hostile	60	60		
Nations more distant, Numerous but little known, all Neutral				330	8130	670

The foregoing is as near the Truth as I have had it in my power to arrive at.
Philadelphia, August 4th, 1778.

Wm. Wilson.

This document is of the greatest interest, not only for the information which it contains, but for the reason that it was the first census of the tribes beyond the Ohio made after the beginning of the Revolution. Ever since the peace of 1763 the commanding officer of the British post at Detroit had possessed great influence among the surrounding tribes, and it is quite evident the majority of the attacks on the frontiers of Virginia had been planned by British agents. The tribes were widely separated, and the number of hostile warriors was given as three hundred and thirty, certainly a very conservative figure; but, nevertheless, they were sufficiently numerous to spread terror over many hundreds of miles of the frontier.

The tribes mentioned in the census may be considered briefly, in the order in which they appear:

I. Delawares. Beaver creek enters the right bank of the Ohio about twenty-six miles below Pittsburg, and during the autumn of the year 1778 Fort McIntosh was erected at the mouth of the creek. Kishkush Town was a Delaware settlement about twenty-two miles up the creek, while another village known as Mahoning Town was thirty-four miles higher up the stream. The former stood in the present Lawrence county, Pennsylvania; the latter in Trumbull county, Ohio.

Coochocking, or Coshocton, on the site of the present Coshocton, Ohio, was formerly the chief town of the Turtle tribe of the Delaware. At this time the Delaware towns were friendly to the Americans, but later, after the death of White Eyes and the elevation of Killbuck, they were gradually won over to the British interests. Three years later, on April 20, 1781, the settlement was attacked and destroyed by an American force of about three hundred regulars, under command of Col. Daniel Brodhead.

Guyahaga may be another name for Custaloga's Town, a Delaware village which stood on Walhonding river, near Killbucks creek, in the present Coshocton county, Ohio.

The Muskingum and Hocking rivers. On the d'Anville map of 1755 a village, designated Muskingom, is indicated on the right bank of the river of that name, probably at some point

within the present Tuscarawas county. The village of Hoken is given on the same map, on the right bank of a stream entering the Muskingom, evidently the Hocking river. This was probably in either Fairfield or Hocking county. Both villages belonged to the Delaware.

Ouabache, the present Wabash river.

II. Munsies & Mohickons. The Munsee formed one of the three great divisions of the Delawares. Soon after the year 1740 "they removed to Allegheny river, Pennsylvania, where some of them had settled as early as 1724. The Moravian missionaries had already begun their work among them, and a considerable number under their teaching drew off from the tribe and became a separate organization. The others moved west with the Delawares into Indiana, where most of them were incorporated with that tribe, while others joined the Chippewa, Shawnee, and other tribes, so that the Munsee practically ceased to exist as an organized body. Many removed to Canada and settled near their relatives, the Moravian Indians." (Handbook of American Indians, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology.)

The Mahican, when first encountered by the Europeans, occupied both banks of the upper Hudson. They were closely associated with other Algonquian tribes to the south and east. The Mahican, Munsee, and Delawares were classed by the French under the general term Loups. A part of the Mahican moved westward early in the eighteenth century, and in 1721 occupied a village on the Kankakee river, in the present state of Indiana. The term "Seneca Country" was often used when referring to the entire territory of the Iroquois.

III. Christianized Indians. Many of the Munsee and Delawares had been under the influence of Moravian missionaries, and to these was applied the name "Christianized Indians." Walehaketopae and Kenhandlerhead have not been identified. The names were undoubtedly of Moravian origin, and the tribe, or tribes, to whom they refer are probably well known under another name.

Lictenaue, or Lichtenau, to which point they are said to have removed, was a village of Moravian Delawares. It stood on the east side of the Muskingum, three miles below Coshocton, and was established in 1776. Later the Moravians were forced to abandon the settlement on account of the hostility of the Hurons and others. The town was then reoccupied by enemies of the Moravians and became known as Indaochaie. It was destroyed in 1781 by the American troops.

IV. Shawnese. For many years prior to the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, the Shawnee had been the avowed enemies of the frontier settlements. Cornstalk was chief of that branch of the tribe living in the vicinity of the Scioto, and between the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, and the death of the chief, November 10, 1777, there was a period of comparative quiet on the frontier. But with the treacherous murder of Cornstalk his people on the Scioto again became the enemies of the Americans. Some of these moved westward to the villages near the Miami, but they did not relinquish their claim to the Scioto until the signing of the treaty of Greenville.

V. Wiandots. Huron. When first known to the French, in 1615, the four Iroquoian tribes, later known as the Huron, occupied the territory in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe, and south and east of Georgian bay. They were early under the influence of the French, later to become the allies of the British. They appear to have arrived in the neighborhood of Detroit about the year 1700. In 1745 a large party went southward from the Detroit river, and, under the leadership of Orontony, or Nicholas, formed a conspiracy with many tribes to attempt the destruction of the French. But the conspiracy failed. Soon the Huron returned to the country about Detroit and Sandusky, and probably from this time began the settlements of Upper and Lower Sandusky. The Huron were now known as Wyandots. The Wyandots, one of whose villages stood on the east bank of Detroit river opposite the post, became allies of the British. It was to this village that William Wilson made his remarkable journey during the late summer of 1776, bearing an invitation to the Wyandot to attend a treaty at Fort Pitt.

VI. Ottawas & Pottawatamies. Ottawas, Potawatomi, and Chippewa were, according to tradition, one people whose early home was some point north of the great lakes. In 1615 Champlain met a party of Ottawa warriors, three-hundred in number, near the shore of Georgian bay. Their villages were scattered, and they often removed from place to place.

VII. Chipwas. The Chippewa, or Ojibway, was one of the most important tribes in America north of Mexico. At this time, 1778, the population of the entire tribe could not have been far from twenty thousand. They claimed both sides of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and their villages extended across the northern part of Minnesota.

VIII. Twixtwees & Picts. The first refers to the Miami, "An Algonquian tribe, usually designated by early English writers as Twightwees (*twanh twanh*, the cry of a crane,—Hewitt), from their own name." (Handbook, *op. cit.*) They were known to the Jesuits as early as 1658, in the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin. The second name, Picts, probably refers to one of the six bands of the Miami.

IX. Oubache Indians. i. e. Wabash. "In 1682 La Salle mentioned the Ouabachi as one of the tribes defeated by the Iroquois a few years previously. It is impossible to determine whether it was really the name of a tribe or only a collective term for the Indians living on Wabash river in Indiana and Illinois. In the 18th century the Wea, Piankashaw, Eel River Miami, and perhaps also the Kickapoo, were commonly known as the Wabash confederates." (Handbook, *op. cit.*)

X. Mingoes. "A name applied in various forms by the Delawares and affiliated tribes to the Iroquois and cognate tribes, and more particularly used during the late colonial period by the Americans to designate a detached band of Iroquois who had left the villages of the main body before 1750 and formed new settlements in Pennsylvania, on upper Ohio river, in the neighborhood of the Shawnee, Delaware, and neighboring

tribes. They gradually moved down the Ohio, and just previous to the Revolution were living in the vicinity of Steubenville, Ohio. From the Ohio they crossed over to the headwaters of the Scioto and Sandusky rivers, where they began to be known as the Senecas of Sandusky, either because the majority were Seneca or because all the western Iroquois were supposed to be Seneca." (Handbook, *op. cit.*)

Such was the heterogeneous population of the Indian Country beyond the Ohio. Tribes whose early homes had been in the North, in the East, and in the South, had gradually gathered here, beyond the western settlements of the British colonies. First under the influence of the French, later to be dominated by the British at Detroit, whose agents instigated many attacks on the border settlements from Fort Pitt to the distant posts in Kentucky. But all was not peace within the Indian Country: tribes were divided against themselves, and conspired one against another. A more chaotic condition would be difficult to conceive.

In the endeavor to gain peace for the Virginia frontier, and the friendship of the Indians beyond the Ohio, Congress planned a treaty to be held at Fort Pitt, July 23, 1778; to be attended by commissioners of the government and representatives of the different tribes. This was destined to be the first treaty negotiated between the United States and an Indian nation, and was signed September 17. The correspondence and acts, which preceded the treaty, will form the subject of the next section of this series.